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even the most ardent opponents of the Federal Constitution were inconsistent with the stern logic of equality that pervaded all its other parts, and pervaded the whole of the Declaration of American Independence, on which the Constitution itself was based. We are not to censure the fathers for these concessions; they had a union of the States to create, and to their hands and generous minds the voluntary removal of Slavery, by the action of the several States themselves, without Federal interference, seemed not only certain, but close at hand.

First: That the foreign slave trade should not be abolished before 1808.

Second: That any law or regulation which any State might establish in favor of Freedom, should not impair the legal remedy, or be supposed to exist by common law, for the recapture, by legal process, in such State, of fugitives from labor or service, escaping from other States.

Third: That three fifths of all slaves should be counted, in settling the basis of representation in the several States.

These were the concessions which in themselves seem very limited, almost harmless, are all that the fathers consciously made to the privileged class.

But privileged classes always know how well to improve every indirect advantage which the Constitution or laws of a country afford. Such indirect advantages they acquired from two other provisions of the Constitution: 1st, That the States were to be free and independent and sovereign in municipal affairs. Slavery being understood to be purely municipal in its nature. 2d, That provision which, out of deference to the small States, gives them a representation in the Senate equal to that of the largest State. Freedom builds great States; Slavery multiplies small States, and even drains great ones.

We see that the American slaveholders are a privileged class, standing on a special and permanent foundation, and that they are protected in their advantages by the organic laws. They might show a grudging acquiescence in the fact that they are a privileged class, but they would not admit that they are a privileged class. They would not admit that they are a privileged class, but they would not admit that they are a privileged class.

Unhappily for events have lent to the privileged class advantages which have more than counterbalanced the indirect advantages which the Constitution afforded. The invention of the cotton gin, which easily separates the seed from the fibre, has made cotton an almost exclusive agricultural staple in the Southern States, and an immense commercial staple of the whole country. The national territory has necessarily been enlarged, from time to time, to accommodate an overgrowing population and ever increasing demands for land. By these circumstances, the privileged class have at the same time found, in a home production of slaves in Maryland and Virginia and other States, a compensation for the loss of the African slave trade; and they have not been slothful in unlearning all the fears and dismissing all the timidity and conciliation which marked the Southern States during the first years of the revolutionary war. The admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, as slaveholding States to the Union, seemed unavoidable, inasmuch as they were the overgrown States of the South, and the States of the North, thus these new States north of the Ohio, balancing the growing free States north of that river, served as a sort of balance between the privileged class of the South, and the free States of the North. This was the first final partition of the unsettled territory of the United States into States.

In 1804, France, the British, and the United States, a broad belt, stretching along the western bank of the Mississippi, from the British possessions on the north, to the Spanish province of Texas on the south. This acquisition, which was equally necessary to the British, French, and American, and for the uses of commerce, stimulated the desire of the privileged class for an extension of their territory and an aggrandizement of their power. Not only the British, but the United States, on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, was already at once an ancient slaveholding colony and an important commercial mart. It lay contiguous to the ancient slaveholding States, and these circumstances, it was without any resistance soon organized and admitted into the Union, with its ancient laws and customs to support Slavery. In Louisiana, though destined to acquire great commercial importance, was yet an inconsiderable town, with few slaveholders and slaves. The Mississippi only divided it from the Northwest Territory, which was also destined to be a slave State. In the interests of the country required, and humanity demanded, that the Ordinance of 1787 should be extended across the Mississippi. The river, the class of slaveholders, the Territories, and the admission of new States, to legislate in all against their privileges in the Territories, or to refuse admission to a new State, on the condition that it should be a slave State, was a compromise, and they threatened in our voice to subvert the Union, if Missouri should be rejected. The privileged class were backed by the Senate of the United States, as they have been backed on the same point since that time. They were met, however, with firmness and decision by the unprivileged class of the House of Representatives, and Missouri failed to be admitted as a slave State.

The privileged class resorted to a new form of strategy—the strategy of compromise. They offered to be satisfied if Missouri only should be admitted as a slave State, while the Congress should prohibit Slavery forever in all the Territories of the United States. This was a compromise, and they threatened in our voice to subvert the Union, if Missouri should be rejected. The privileged class were backed by the Senate of the United States, as they have been backed on the same point since that time. They were met, however, with firmness and decision by the unprivileged class of the House of Representatives, and Missouri failed to be admitted as a slave State.

It is not my purpose to discuss the policy or the justice of the compromise. As in the case of the Constitution, the responsibility for that great measure rests with a generation that has passed away. We have to deal with it only as a fact, and with the state of affairs that was established by it.

The occupation of the new region west of the Mississippi, which had thus been saved for Freedom, was artfully postponed indefinitely, by dedicating it as a home for the concentrated and concentrated tribes of Indians, and the humanity of the unprivileged class, if not of their prudence, that they neither remonstrated nor complained of that dedication.

The success of the privileged class, in securing to themselves immediate possession of Missouri and Arkansas, in exchange for the unprivileged class of the Louisiana purchase, stimulated them to move for new national possessions. Spain was yielded to retain longer the western provinces of East Florida and West Florida, which lay adjacent to the class of slaveholders, and which yielded, by an easy purchase, and the privileged class with due diligence procured their organization as a State, and its admission into the Union.

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adverse to the privileged class, were unconstitutional, and not of man-like that slavery, which I do not stop to stigmatize or even to characterize these aggressions. Of what use would it be to charge perfidy, when the losses we deplore have resulted from our own infidelity?

I do not dwell, as others so often do, and so justly do, upon the atrocious outrages of the government of Kansas by the slaveholders of Missouri, nor even on the barbarous and tyrannical course of the territorial government, in stifling Freedom in that Territory, nor even yet on the fraudulent and nefarious connivance of the President with this picture. Nor will I draw into this picture, ready to do so, the personal limitations which daily come home to yourselves in the conduct of your own affairs.

You are commanded by an unconstitutional law of Congress to seize and deliver up to the members of the territorial government, who are under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of your estates. You may not interpose between the armed slaveholder and the wounded slave, to prevent his being murdered, without coming under arrest for treason, nor may you cover his naked and lacerated limbs except by stealth. You have fought twenty years, and with but partial success, for the constitutional right to lay your restraints on the lawless Congress. You may not tell the free slave who reaches your borders that he is free, without being seized by a Federal Court, and condemned, without trial, to imprisonment, or even to imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and with-out limitation of sentence. Your representatives in either House of Congress must speak for the territorial government, and the presence of the representatives of the privileged class, lest justice be denied to your old soldiers when they claim their pensions, or to your laborers when they claim the performance of their contracts with the Government. The agency of the United States is reduced to the position of a deputy of the privileged class, emptying the treasury and marshaling battalions and ships to the service of the slaveholders of the Fugitive Slave Law on the one hand, and who removes Governors and Judges, at their command, who attempt to maintain law and order in the Territory of Kansas. The Vice President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives are safe men, whom the privileged class trust in every case. The care of the judiciary of the United States is in the hands of the foreign landed, is intrusted in either House to assured supporters of that class. Protection is denied to your word, while it is freely given to the word of the slaveholder. The public domain are freely given to Alabama, for railroads, and even as gratuities, while not a dollar can be obtained to remove the rocks of the Gulf of Mexico, or to clear the overgrowth, or the bare in Lake St. Clair, or in the mouth of your Lake Huron. Canada, lying all along your northern borders, must not even be looked upon as a neighbor, but as a land to be annexed and spread Slavery over Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Mexico, Cuba, and Central America. Your liberty of speech, where is it? You are not free to speak the truth, or to denounce in foreign lands, lest the slave overhear you on the plantations of the privileged class, or the foreign desert visit them, in retaliation, and the millions of the colored people of the United States, who are in the hands of the privileged class, the emblem of universal liberty, are carried off to the plantations of the privileged class, or the foreign desert visit them, in retaliation, and the millions of the colored people of the United States, who are in the hands of the privileged class, the emblem of universal liberty, are carried off to the plantations of the privileged class.

The public resolve that followed the annexation of Texas was of short duration. Mexico resented that offense. A war ensued, and territorial acquisitions were made. The Mexican Republic of Mexico to the United States. The Mexican Republic forbade Slavery everywhere, and the new possessions were under that law. The House of Representatives, the privileged class demand either an extension of the law, or that the whole should be opened to their colonization with slaves. The House of Representatives resisted these pretensions, as it had resisted similar ones before. The Senate, on the other hand, favored the extension of the law. The House of Representatives resisted these pretensions, as it had resisted similar ones before. The Senate, on the other hand, favored the extension of the law.

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II. With fanatical aggression on Missouri, with the intention of putting the torch to the dwellings and the knife to the throats of its people.

III. With sending persons to Kansas who do not intend to remain there, but who go only to interfere with and control the actual settlers.

IV. With the charge of recruiting armies and hiring fanatics to go to Kansas, our answer is very simple. We have never hired a man to go there, or paid the passage of a single emigrant.

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ence lost. All we know is, that they want to go to Kansas, and we aid them by all the means in our power.

We are perfectly willing, however, what you may already be aware of, that when we organized ourselves to supply the demand for emigrants from the East, we knew that they would be men who meant to live in a free State. They are men who live by hard work, as we all do, and they are men who are not afraid of the State would make hard work disagreeable. They knew that, by the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the actual settlers must control the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska.

We have never thought of marching men into Kansas for an election, and then bringing them home again. We have never seized upon Indian lands against law and right. If we cared to recriminate, we might say that certain associations have committed these outrages; but all the world knows that we have never done so. We are certain now, that under this principle the actual settlers of Kansas will make its laws, and that the slaveholders of Missouri will be excluded from the Territory.

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